

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05216 01 OF 04 112210Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /050 W
-----075296 112216Z /66

R 112034Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4570
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 MADRID 05216

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: SPAIN - A POLITICAL OVERVIEW
REF: MADRID 2302

1. SUMMARY: THE DRIVE TO PROVIDE SPAIN WITH A DEMOCRATIC
CONSTITUTION IS NOW IN THE HOME STRETCH, AND A BROAD
CONFIDENCE CONTINUES TO EXIST THAT THE PROCESS WIL MOVE
SMOOTHLY THROUGH PARLIAMENTARY CONSIDERATION AND POPULAR
REFERENDUM BY THIS FALL. THE APPAENT SAFETY NET
REPRESENTED BY A CONSTITUTION ACHIEVED THROUGH CONSENSUS,
HOWEVER, AND THE ONSET SHORTLY THEREAFTER OF NATION-WIDE
ELECTIONS (EITHER MUNICIPAL, GENERAL, OR BOTH), SUGGESTS
THAT THERE WILL BE SOME HEATING UP OF THE POLITICAL
TEMPERATURE IN THE POST-CONSTITUTION PERIOD. CONTINUING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05216 01 OF 04 112210Z

STRAINS AND ISSUES INCLUDING REGIONAL AUTONOMY, THE STATE
OF THE ECONOMY, LABOR POLICY, INTERNATIONAL SECURITY
POLICY, AND CONTINUING QUESTIONS OVER POLITICAL PARTY
ORIENTATION AND UNITY, MAY, IN FACT, TEST THE COMBINATION
OF KING JUAN CARLOS' CALMING ROLE, PRIME MINISTER ADOLFO
SUAREZ' DETERMINATION AND POLITICAL SKILL, AND THE BROAD
NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY MORE SEVERELY IN THE POST

CONSTITUTION PERIOD THAN IN THE TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS THAT HAVE THUS FAR PASSED SINCE FRANCO'S DEATH. MOREOVER, THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE NEXT GENERAL OR MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (NOT YET SCHEDULED) COULD BE WON BY THE OPPOSITION SOCIALIST PSOE OF FELIPE GONZALEZ. WHILE SPAIN NEEDS AT LEAST TWO MODERATE ALTERNATIVES FOR POLITICAL POWER, THE PSOE'S REAL VOCATION TO MODERATION HAS NOT YET BEEN TESTED AND IT CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE CONSIDERABLY MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE US TO DEAL WITH THAN THE UCD -- PARTICULARLY ON NATO AND THE US MILITARY PRESENCE. END SUMMARY.

2. THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF DEMOCRACY IN SPAIN ENTERED THE HOME STRETCH MAY 5, WHEN THE CONSTITUTIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES (LOWER HOUSE) BEGAN CONSIDERATION OF THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION. THE INITIAL SPEECHES OF MAJOR PARTY SPOKESMEN, WHILE DETERMINEDLY BROAD AND SOMEWHAT RHETORICAL, REFLECTED THE COMMITMENT TO CONSENSUS AND THE REMARKABLE RESTRAINT THAT HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE TRANSITION PROCESS SINCE IT GOT UNDER EFFECTIVE WAY FOLLOWING THE JULY 1976 DESIGNATION OF ADOLFO SUAREZ AS PRIME MINISTER.

3. SOME MAJOR ISSUES INVOLVED IN THE MODERATE DRAFT CONSTITUTION -- INCLUDING REGIONAL AUTONOMY, THE FORM OF THE ECONOMY, THE ROLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, STATE SUPPORT FOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS, AND THE FUNCTIONING OF CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 05216 01 OF 04 112210Z

THE JUDICIARY -- REMAIN UNRESOLVED, AND MAY YET OCCASION TOUGH NEGOTIATION IN BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE SENATE. AS OF THIS WRITING THERE CONTINUES TO PREVAIL, HOWEVER, A BROAD CONFIDENCE THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS WILL CONTINUE SMOOTHLY AND GENERALLY ON SCHEDULE, AND THAT THE DRAFT WILL MOVE THROUGH THE COMMITTEE, THE FULL CONGRESS, AND THE SENATE, AND BE READY FOR REFERENDUM BY SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER OF THIS YEAR.

4. ATTENTION IS ALREADY BEGINNING TO FOCUS, IN FACT, ON THE POST-CONSTITUTION PERIOD, AND ON THE ELECTIONS WHICH WILL BE HELD THEN. WHAT REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED IS JUST WHEN ELECTIONS MIGHT BE HELD, AND WHAT THE RELATIVE TIMING MIGHT BE OF THE TWO KINDS, MUNICIPAL AND GENERAL, WHICH ARE BEING CONTEMPLATED.

5. THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF PRESSURE FOR EARLY MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS IS THE FACT THAT NONE HAVE BEEN HELD SINCE BEFORE FRANCO'S DEATH. THEY WERE POSTPONED BY GENERAL AGREEMENT FOR SOME TIME, IN ORDER NOT TO INTERRUPT THE HIGHER-LEVEL TRANSITION PROCESS; BUT THE ANOMALY

OF THE CONTINUATION IN POWER OF FRANCO-ERA CITY
ADMINISTRATIONS HAS COME UNDER INCREASING CRITICISM,
PARTICULARLY FROM THE LEFT, WHICH FIGURES TO DO
RELATIVELY BETTER AT THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL.

6. AS FOR GENERAL ELECTIONS, THE CURRENT CORTES,
ELECTED IN JUNE 1977 FOR A FOUR-YEAR TERM, WAS FROM
THE OUTSET WIDELY EXPECTED TO BE DISSOLVED IN LESS
TIME AS PART OF THE CONTINUING DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS.
NO COMMITMENT OR EVEN GENERAL AGREEMENT WAS EVER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05216 02 OF 04 112127Z

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /050 W

-----074846 112218Z /66

O 112034Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4571

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 MADRID 05216

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

REACHED ON THIS, HOWEVER, AND THERE HAS BEEN CONCERN
ABOUT OVERLOADING THE CIRCUITS AND UNDULY TAXING THE
PEOPLE'S PATIENCE (AS WELL AS THE NATIONAL TREASURY)
WITH AN UNRELENTING SERIES OF NATIONAL CONSULTATIONS.

7. AT THE HEART OF THE CONSIDERATION BEING GIVEN TO
THE ELECTORAL-CALENDAR QUESTION BY EACH PARTY IS OF
COURSE ITS OWN CALCULATION OF HOW ITS INDIVIDUAL
ELECTORAL INTERESTS WOULD BEST BE SERVED. ON THIS
SCORE NEITHER OF THE TWO PRINCIPAL ACTORS -- THE
GOVERNING UCD AND THE OPPOSITION SOCIALIST PSOE -- HAS

COME DOWN WITH ANY PRECISION. IN GENERAL, THE PSOE HAS PUSHED FOR HOLDING BOTH ELECTIONS AT A RELATIVELY EARLY TIME, A REFLECTION OF ITS CONFIDENCE IN A STRONG SHOWING ON BOTH THE MUNICIPAL AND NATIONAL PLANES. THE UCD, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05216 02 OF 04 112127Z

WHICH PRIVATELY ACKNOWLEDGES IT COULD EXPECT TO LOSE IN MOST OF THE MAJOR CITIES AND FEARS THE PRECEDENT OF THE EVENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE 1931 MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (REFTEL) CONTINUES TO CONSIDER THE ALTERNATIVES OF HOLDING ONE OR THE OTHER FIRST, OR EVEN OF HOLDING THEM CONJOINTLY. UCD LEADERS EXPECT A SUCCESSFUL REFERENDUM OF THE CONSTITUTION TO REDOUND TO THEIR PARTY'S BENEFIT, AND THIS IS ANOTHER FACTOR IN THEIR CONSIDERATIONS.

8. THE BROADER POST-CONSTITUTION QUESTION GOES BEYOND TIMING OF ELECTIONS TO THE MORE FUNDAMENTAL MATTER OF INTER-PARTY RELATIONSHIPS, TACTICS AND STRATEGY ONCE AN AGREED CONSTITUTION IS IN PLACE. SPANISH POLITICAL LEADERS OF ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE COMMUNISTS, HAVE THROUGHOUT THE TRANSITION SHOWN ESSENTIAL AGREEMENT THAT THE PROCESS WAS A DELICATE ONE AND THE DANGERS REAL, REQUIRING CONSIDERABLE SELF-RESTRAINT AND HIGH RESPONSIBILITY IF DERAILMENT WERE TO BE AVOIDED. BUT IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT ONCE THE CONSTITUTION IS FIRMLY IN PLACE, THE GLOVES MAY BE REMOVED FOR LESS RESTRAINED POLITICAL COMBAT OVER MANY OF THE KNOTTY ISSUES, SUCH AS REGIONAL AUTONOMY, ECONOMIC POLICY, COLLECTIVE BARGAINING RULES, AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY (READ NATO). MOREOVER, THE SCENARIO WILL BE COMPLICATED BY IDENTITY AND UNITY PROBLEMS THAT STILL PLAGUE BOTH THE MAJOR PARTIES, THE UCD AND THE PSOE. THUS THE STRAINS AND UNCERTAINTIES MAY REALLY BE GREATER IN THIS POST-CONSTITUTION, OR CONSOLIDATION, PHASE OF THE POST-FRANCO DEMOCRATIZATION, THAN THEY HAVE BEEN OVER THE PAST TWO AND ONE-HALF YEARS.

9. IN THE POST-CONSTITUTION PERIOD THE PARTIES WILL BE GEARING UP FOR ONE ELECTION OR ANOTHER, AND THE PSOE, ITS ALREADY CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENCE FURTHER CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 05216 02 OF 04 112127Z

SWELLED BY ITS RECENT ABSORPTION OF THE MUCH SMALLER PSP OF TIERNO GALVAN, WILL BE TAKING DEAD AIM ON MOVING INTO POWER, EITHER THROUGH A DEMONSTRATION OF STRENGTH IN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS (WHICH IT HOPES WILL SERVE BOTH AS A GOAD FOR EARLY GENERAL ELECTIONS AND

AS A BOOST FOR FURTHER ELECTORAL SUCCESS), OR DIRECTLY, IF IT TURNS OUT THAT THE GENERAL ELECTIONS COME FIRST OR SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS. THERE ARE THOSE WHO ARGUE THE PSOE IS IN FACT IN NO HURRY TO TAKE POWER, OUT OF CONCERNS BOTH WITH ITS ABILITY TO STAFF AN ENTIRE ADMINISTRATION WITH EXPERIENCED PEOPLE, AND OF HAVING TO RULE DURING A TIME OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTY EARLIER THE PSOE LEADERS THEMSELVES TOOK THIS LINE. NOW THEY SEEM, AT LEAST, TO BE MORE CONFIDENT AND DISMISS THIS THESIS IN THEIR PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH US. HOWEVER, THE PSOE DOES REALIZE THAT POWERFUL INSTITUTIONS IN SPAIN SUCH AS THE CHURCH, BANKING AND BUSINESS GROUPS AND THE ARMED FORCES WOULD BE UNEASY, TO SAY THE LEAST, AT A PSOE GOVERNMENT. THE SOCIALISTS WOULD THEREFORE HOPE TO ATTRACT TO THEIR BANNER UCD SOCIAL DEMOCRATS AND OUTSIDE TECHNICIANS IN SOME FORM OF COALITION GOVERNMENT. FELIPE GONZALEZ' STATEMENT THIS WEEK THAT THE PSOE SHOULD GIVE UP THE MARXIST LABEL DOUBTLESS WAS MADE WITH THIS IN MIND, BUT IT IS AS YET UNCLEAR TO WHAT EXTENT HIS PARTY WILL SUPPORT HIM IN THIS FUNDAMENTAL POINT.

10. THE UCD,CURRENTLY TROUBLED BY INTERNAL DIFFERENCES FLOWING FROM ITS HETEROGENEOUS MAKE-UP AND ITS UNCERTAIN PROGRESS TOWARD MORE EFFECTIVE ORGANIZATION, HOPES TO BE IN BETTER SHAPE AFTER THE CONSTITUTION, NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE ANTICIPATED LIFT ITS SUCCESSFUL REFERENDUM WILL GIVE SUAREZ BUT BECAUSE OF LOOKED-FOR ADVANCES IN ORGANIZATION BETWEEN NOW AND THEN. IT WILL NEVERTHELESS

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05216 03 OF 04 112136Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /050 W
-----074947 112220Z /66

O 112034Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4572
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 04 MADRID 05216

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

BE HIGHLY CONSCIOUS OF THE PSOE CHALLENGE, WHICH WILL BE THE GREATER IF THE PSOE DOES INDEED EMERGE WITH A MORE CLEARLY SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC IMAGE, A POINT THAT IS STILL UNCERTAIN.

11. THE TWO OUTER PARTIES, THE CONSERVATIVE ALIANZA POPULAR (AP) AND THE PCE, WITH NO CHANCE OF ACHIEVING POWER INDIVIDUALLY IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE, SHOULD CONTINUE THEIR ESSENTIALLY SIMILAR CURRENT APPROACH, WHICH COMBINES THE SHORT-TERM TACTIC OF STAYING OPEN FOR, AND EVEN ENCOURAGING, THE SHARING OF POWER THROUGH COALITION, WITH THE LONGER-VIEW HOPE THAT STEADY INDIVIDUAL GROWTH WILL MAKE POSSIBLE THE EVENTUAL DOMINATION OF ANY SUCH COALITION. THE AP HAS ALSO MADE CLEAR ITS HOPES OF SPEEDING ITS PROGRESS THROUGH ENTICING AT LEAST THE MORE CONSERVATIVE PORTION OF THE CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05216 03 OF 04 112136Z

UCD INTO DIRECT PARTNERSHIP OR EVEN UNITY IN A "GRAND RIGHT" FORMULATION OF SOME SORT (SEPTOL). SUBSTANTIAL PSOE UNITY AND REPEATED REJECTIONS BY PSOE LEADERS OF ANY IDEA OF COALITION WITH THE PCE PROVIDE THE COMMUNISTS WITH LESS HOPE ALONG THESE LINES. IN ANY CASE, BOTH THE AP AND THE PCE WILL KEEP UP THE PRESSURE ON THEIR RESPECTIVE PUTATIVE PARTNERS, WHO WILL BOTH FEEL THE NEED TO TEND THEIR OUTER FLANKS.

12. THE SPANISH MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT (TO CONSIDER ANOTHER KEY ELEMENT IN THE POLITICAL PICTURE) HAS BEEN UNDERGOING ORGANIZATIONAL REFORM AND ITS MODERNIZATION EFFORTS HAVE ENJOYED SUPPORT FROM ALL PARTIES IN PARLIAMENT. UNDER A COURAGEOUS DEFENSE MINISTER, WHO ENJOYS FULL SUPPORT FROM KING AND PRIME MINISTER, A DEFENSE MINISTRY HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED, AND CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE ON INTER-SERVICE COOPERATION, PLACEMENT OF MODERATES IN KEY POSITIONS IN THE DEFENSE ESTABLISHMENT, PAY AND OTHER PERSONNEL REFORMS CONTRIBUTING TO GROWING PROFESSIONALISM, REVISIONS OF THE CODES OF MILITARY CONDUCT AND MILITARY JUSTICE, WORKING RELATIONS WITH PARLIAMENT AND OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE CIVILIAN LEADERSHIP OF THE STATE, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE POLITICAL LEFT, AND SUPPORT FOR JOINING NATO. THERE IS NOTHING NOW ON THE HORIZON THREATENING

THE CONTINUATION OF THIS PROCESS, ALTHOUGH ITS EXACT PACE WILL REFLECT FITS AND STARTS ON THE POLITICAL FRONT. THERE IS THUS NOW NO VISIBLE DANGER OF DIRECT MILITARY INTERVENTION IN GOVERNMENT SHORT OF THERE BEING A THREAT TO THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROCESS, THE UNITY OF THE STATE, OR A MAJOR BREAKDOWN IN PUBLIC ORDER.

13. UNDERNEATH THE GENERAL CALM THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED THE TRANSITION, NONETHELESS, CONTINUING CURRENTS OF
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MADRID 05216 03 OF 04 112136Z

ACTUAL OR POTENTIAL DISORDER EXIST. ETA AND ITS SYMPATHIZERS IN THE BASQUE COUNTRY REMAIN ACTIVE, AS DO SUCH RELATED EFFORTS AS PRO-AMNESTY CAMPAIGNS, AND ATTACKS ON POLICEMEN AND OTHER TERRORIST ACTIVITIES ARE CONTINUING. THE ONGOING ACTIVITIES OF THE CANARY ISLANDS INDEPENDENCE GROUP (MPAIAC), COUPLED WITH THE ISLANDS' LONGSTANDING SENSE OF ISOLATION AND NEGLECT AND THEIR DEEP-ROOTED ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES, HAVE COMBINED TO HEIGHTEN EMOTION THERE. AND ALL OVER SPAIN, WHILE SOME WORKERS WITH JOBS SHOW A CERTAIN RESTLESSNESS (HOTEL WORKERS IN THE SOUTH ARE OUT ON STRIKE AT THIS WRITING), THE NUMBER OF THOSE WITHOUT JOBS IS ESTIMATED AS HIGH AS A MILLION (SOME 8 PERCENT OF THE LABOR FORCE), MOST OF THEM YOUNG. LAST DECEMBER'S RIOTS IN ANDALUCIA (77 MADRID 10415) WERE A GRAPHIC EXAMPLE OF HOW THINGS COULD DETERIORATE. SO FAR, THE CALMING ROLE OF KING JUAN CARLOS, THE DETERMINATION AND POLITICAL SKILL OF SUAREZ, AND THE BROAD COMMITMENT OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES AND THE SPANISH PEOPLE TO MAKING A SUCCESS OF THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY HAVE COMBINED TO KEEP THE PROCESS ON THE TRACKS. WHAT IS UNCERTAIN IS WHETHER THE SUCCESS CAN BE SUSTAINED INDEFINITELY THROUGH PERIODS OF CONTINUING ECONOMIC PINCH AND INTENSIFIED POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

14. ALSO IN DOUBT AT THIS TIME IS THE LIKELY OUTCOME OF UPCOMING ELECTIONS. POLLS HAVE SHOWN A STEADY SLIDE IN SUAREZ' POPULARITY, AND WHILE IT IS STILL HIGH IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF MANY INCUMBENT LEADERS OF WESTERN DEMOCRACIES, THE DECLINE IS WORRISOME TO HIS SUPPORTERS, FOR HIS APPEAL AT THE POLLS IS UNIVERSALLY CONSIDERED CRUCIAL TO UCD CHANCES OF SUCCESS. THE PSOE, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS SEEN TO BE RISING, EVEN IN POLLS WHICH PRECEDED ITS ABSORPTION OF THE PSP. FOR ELECTIONS WHICH HAVE STILL NOT EVEN BEEN SCHEDULED AND ARE AT

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MADRID 05216 04 OF 04 112138Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00
PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 /050 W
-----074960 112222Z /66

O 112034Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4573
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 04 MADRID 05216

BRUSSELS ALSO FOR USEEC

LEAST HALF A YEAR - AND PROBABLY MORE - AWAY, NEITHER
THE UCD NOR THE PSOE CAN BE CONSIDERED A SURE THING.
THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE OF NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE
ELECTIONS, THE DATE FOR WHICH IS EVEN MORE UNCERTAIN
THAN FOR MUNICIPALS. OUR INCLINATION AT THIS STAGE
WOULD BE THAT THE UCD WOULD PROBABLY MAINTAIN ITS
PLURALITY IN THE CORTES BECAUSE OF SUAREZ' PERSONAL
POPULARITY -- BUT ONLY BY A THIN MARGIN. HOWEVER,
IT IS COMPLETELY CLEAR AT THIS STAGE THAT THE PSOE
CANNOT BE COUNTED OUT, PARTICULARLY IF IT STRESSED
SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, RATHER THAN MARXISM, IN ITS CAMPAIGN
(SEPTEL). OVER THE LONGER TERM, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT
SPAIN HAVE AT LEAST TWO MODERATE ALTERNATIVE PARTIES
VYING FOR POLITICAL POWER. THE HOPE, IN THE PRESENT
SPANISH POLITICAL LINE-UP, IS THAT THE PSOE WILL BE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MADRID 05216 04 OF 04 112138Z

ONE OF THEM. BUT WHETHER IT WILL BE READY TO BOTH
CAMPAIGN AND GOVERN MODERATELY AS EARLY AS 1979, IF
INDEED LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS ARE HELD THAT EARLY,
IS UNCERTAIN. A PSOE VICTORY IN NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE
ELECTIONS WOULD CONFRONT US WITH A SERIES OF MORE
DIFFICULT BILATERAL CHALLENGES AND POLICY QUESTIONS THAN

THOSE PRESENTED BY THE UCD, WITH PSOE OPPOSITION TO
SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO AND TO THE LEVEL OF THE U.S.
MILITARY PRESENCE IN SPAIN BEING THE MOST OBVIOUS.
EATON

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: REPORTS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 may 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978MADRID05216
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780201-0154
Format: TEL
From: MADRID
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780570/aaaachbh.tel
Line Count: 444
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 72278ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 9
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 MADRID 2302
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2724800
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SPAIN - A POLITICAL OVERVIEW
TAGS: PINT, SP
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/72278ea0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014